

BOSTON'S FY06 LOCAL ANNUAL WORKFORCE DEVELOPMENT BUSINESS PLAN

N.B.—Due to the timeline of the issuance of the State's guidance to local areas about the required elements for the FY 2006 Local Plan, a synopsis of the FY 06 Boston Business Plan is not yet available. This is the final narrative portion of the FY2005 Boston Local Workforce Development Business Plan that was submitted to the Commonwealth on June 10, 2004. The FY 2006 Plan, which will be submitted to the Commonwealth on June 3, 2005, will not vary greatly from the FY 2005 Plan, and this site will be updated shortly to reflect the changes.

LOCAL LABOR MARKET ANALYSIS

As the economic hub of the Commonwealth, Boston is a center for professional, business, financial, governmental, higher education and medical services, as well as transportation, communication, export and cultural and entertainment activities.¹ Measured in terms of jobs, the city's economy encompasses approximately 18% of the Massachusetts economy. While Boston suffered along with other localities in the state from the national economic downturn at the turn of the century, the after shocks of Sept. 11th, hit Boston disproportionately hard, particularly in tourism-related industries. Between the second quarters of 2002 and 2003, the number of Boston jobs fell by 20,181, or -3.6%. This rate of job loss was much greater than the decline of -2.2% experienced by the entire Commonwealth.²

These job losses were reflected in the City's unemployment rate. In Third Quarter 2002, it stood at 6.2%; by Third Quarter 2003, it was at 6.5%. Comparable figures for the statewide rate were 5.5% in 2002 and 5.7% in 2003.³ This trend continued through November 2003, with Boston's unemployment rate consistently outpacing the state's by an average of .5 percentage points.⁴

Within this framework, the city's employment structure has continued to shift from labor intensive manufacturing jobs to technology and service jobs. Between 1991 and 2003, the city's services industries, including transportation, communication, public utilities, finances, insurance and the full range of services, expanded their share of the economy from 63.3% in 1990 to 69.6% in 2002. Meanwhile, total employment in manufacturing and trade declined from 5.2% to 3.3%, and from 13.1% to 11.3%, respectively.

In the 2002-03 period, those industries especially hard hit were Financial Activities, down 5, 221 jobs; Professional and Business services, down 3,360 jobs; Trade, Transportation and Utilities, losing 2,829 jobs; and Information, which shed 1,863 jobs. A much more limited number of sectors experienced job growth in the time between

¹ "The Boston Economy—2003," Boston Redevelopment Authority Research Publication #589.

² "Regional LMI Profile—Boston 3rd Quarter 2003," DUA led Interagency Workgroup for Regional Profiles.

³ Ibid.

⁴ "Profile of Unemployment Insurance Claimants," Regional LMI Profile-Boston-3rd Quarter 2003.

second quarter 2002 and 2003. Together, Education and Health Services added 2,460 jobs. Of those, 2,187 were located in hospitals (1,431) and physician's offices (577). While the financial activities sector as a whole lost jobs during this period, within that sector, job growth occurred in banking and credit institutions, which added 1,017 jobs, a growth of 6.4%.

The decline in manufacturing in Boston represents a long-term, on-going and fundamental shift in the nature of city's economy. Most of the other losses reflect national sectoral employment issues, rather than underlying shifts in the makeup of the city's economy. The investment-related segment of Boston's financial sector will benefit from the strengthening of investment markets overall. While the Bank of America buyout of FleetBoston Financial involves job losses, BofA insists that the overall number of jobs in New England will remain constant. What is becoming apparent is that the quality of jobs will suffer in this transition and eliminated jobs will be "replaced" by lower level, less well paying jobs.

Until recently, major carriers, for whom the aftermath of Sept. 11 aggravated financial problems, overwhelmingly dominated Boston's airlines-connected transportation sector. Now, however, low-fare airlines have become a more important part of the Boston air travel market and the city's economy is better positioned to benefit from up-turns in the overall tourism industry. Temporarily, at least, the presence of the Democratic National Convention in Boston this summer will infuse this sector with activity. This will redound to the benefit of hotels, restaurants, and other downtown businesses. The completion of the new convention center as well as the ongoing construction of hotels will also provide new opportunities for the tourism sector.

The growth sectors between the third quarter of 2002 and 2003, education and health, are two of the most resistant to economic fluctuations. Twenty-two inpatient hospitals are located in Boston. The City is also the home of the medical and dental schools of Harvard, Tufts and Boston universities, and of 25 public neighborhood health clinics, not including health maintenance organizations and membership clinics. These institutions continue to grow, not only in the area of patient services but also as one of the nation's largest centers of medical research activities. In 2002, there were an estimated 98,685 persons employed in health services in Boston. The City's 34 universities, colleges and community colleges had a combined enrollment in fall 2001 of approximately 132,812, a 6.1% gain from fall 1990. Not only do these institutions provide jobs; they are also a source of newly highly skilled professionals for the City's labor force. According to MIT, although only 10% of its enrollees over the decade of the 1980s were from the Boston area, 24% remained in the area after graduation.

Although small employers (fewer than 20 employees) are the primary class of employers in Boston, these firms account for just 13.3% of the total number of jobs in the city. By contrast, the largest employers (more than 100 employees) provide employment for nearly two-thirds of the city's workers. The largest private employers in Boston include 12 hospitals, seven financial services firms, four universities, three airlines and

two each banks, insurance companies and supermarkets.⁵ While there is some range of primary occupations represented by this listing, it also indicates another long, on-going fundamental change underway in the Boston economy. As of 2000, 69% of City residents were white-collar workers and 31% were blue-collar and service workers, as compared to 1960 when 44% were white-collar and 48% were blue-collar and service workers. Although the degree of this change has abated somewhat since 1970, it, like the concomitant loss of manufacturing jobs, is an ongoing element of the City's economic structure.

At the same time, Boston's major industries do not need just doctors, nurses, professors, government bureaucrats, researchers, insurance executives and stockbrokers. Both the hospitals and universities in the City are, in fact, so large that they are virtually mini-cities. Their functioning encompasses a wide range of occupations, many of which require advanced degrees, but just as many of which do not require the highest levels of education. Similarly on the "macro" level job openings projected in the state through 2010,⁶ while there is an "up-creep" of the educational levels required, "new" and replacement job openings will exist which require training ranging from that provided on-the-job to graduate degrees. The issue for the workforce development system in Boston, of course, is to ensure that systems and opportunities are in place to allow access, either immediately or over time, to "good" jobs which will allow their holders to live in dignity.

During the 1990's the City's population grew 2.6% to 589,141. In the same period, Boston's foreign-born population increased by 32.5% to 151,836. Almost half of the foreign born residents (48.5%) entered the U.S. in the past 10 years.⁷ As of 2000, one-third of Boston's residents speaks a language other than English, up from 25.6% in 1990; and over 16% do not speak English very well, compared to 13% in 1990.

Underneath Boston's population growth between 1990 and 2000, there were trends in diversity.⁸ Non-whites, including Latinos, now form the majority (51.5%) in Boston. Latino and Asian residents are the fastest growing minority residents. 2000, Latinos comprised 14.4% of the city's population, in comparison to 10.4% in 1990. Asian and Pacific Islanders accounted for 7.6%, compared to 5.3% in 1990.

The composition of major age groups shows a significant decline in the elderly. At the same time, there has been a marked increase in the 5-17 year olds, which may have contributed to the fact that while the City's population increased over the 1990-2000 period, the labor force decreased by 4%, according to DUA statistics.⁹ By 2003, the median age of Boston's residents was 31.1, compared to 36.5 for the state as a whole.¹⁰

⁵ 2001 data.

⁶ "The Massachusetts Job Outlook through 2010," Massachusetts Division of Unemployment Assistance.

⁷ "Boston's Immigration, Foreign Born Population and Language Spoken: 1990-2000," BRA, Trends 2000, Technical Note #2002-5.

⁸ "Race Age and Gender Characteristics: 1990-2000," BRA, Trends 2000, Technical Note #2002-9.

⁹ "The Boston Economy, 2003," BRA.

¹⁰ "2000 Population for the Boston Workforce Area by Age and Sex," Regional LMI Profile-Boston, 3rd Quarter 2003, Interagency Workgroup for Regional Profiles.

The younger age of Boston residents, compared to those statewide, has been reflected in unemployment statistics. In the 3rd quarter 2003, 3.2% of Boston's UI claimants were under 22, compared with 2.6% of statewide claimants.¹¹ For Boston, 6.3% of claimants were between 22-24 at that time, while 4.8% of claimants throughout the Commonwealth fell in this age group. While 31.3% of the City's Unemployment Insurance claimants were between 25 and 34 years of age, only 23.3% were in that age group state-wide.

These discouraging statistics about the unemployment rate of young adults in Boston and in the Commonwealth are, in fact, the tip of an iceberg. To be eligible for unemployment benefits one must have a job to have lost. Many young adults are having great difficulty entering the workforce. According to a study by Northeastern's Center for Labor Market Studies, only 37% of 16-to-19-year-olds are employed. This is "the lowest rate of 16 to 19 year olds holding jobs since the government began tracking these statistics in 1948."¹² At the same time, earnings for youth that have managed to find employment have been declining. The Northeastern center found that weekly earnings dropped from \$235 for the class of 2001 to \$226 for the class of 2002, a drop of 4%.

The educational levels of Boston's population 25 years old and over continued to climb in the period between 1990 and 2000.¹³ The percentage of persons with a high school diploma or higher increased from 75.7% in 1990 to 78.9% in 2000. The percentage with some college or higher grew from 49.1% to 54.9%. The percentage of persons with a bachelor's degree or higher increased from 30% in 1990 to 35.5% in 2000 and the growth of those with degrees beyond the bachelor's level outpaced the growth of those with bachelor's degrees—28% to 19%. While these advances are in many ways heartening, they are not so overwhelming that they obliterate all concerns about the education and training needs of the City's residents. While a greater percentage of the city's residents over 25 years old had at least a high school diploma in 2000, 21.1% still lacked a diploma. The respective statewide share was 15.2%.¹⁴ In addition, since the 2000 census, the MCAS requirement has been put in place for current high school graduates. This in turn has pushed up the rate of dropouts in Boston. "In the 2002-03 academic year, 1,405 students dropped out of Boston Public Schools, pushing the district dropout rate from 7% to 7.7%—more than twice the statewide rate."¹⁵

This analysis of population demographics leads to several conclusions:

- There is a need for sustaining integrating the needs of Limited English Speakers into the workforce in a way that will allow them to find one (rather than two or three) jobs that will support them and their immediate and extended families. This requires the direction of resources toward both

¹¹ "Labor Force and Unemployment Data, Boston WIA," DCS/DUA.

¹² Quoted in Charles Stein, "Teens often the losers in competition for jobs," Boston Globe, April 4, 2004.

¹³ "Boston School Enrollment & Educational Attainment: 1990-2000," BRA, Trends 2000, Technical Note #2002-3.

¹⁴ "Regional LMI Profile-Boston, 3rd Quarter 2003," Interagency Workgroup for Regional Profiles.

¹⁵ Marie Szaniszló, "High School plan targets dropouts," Boston Herald, April 8, 2004.

English as a Second Language per se and contextualized training programs that support them in their desire to learn English and get good jobs.

- Particularly in the “pillar” industries of the City’s economy, health care, higher education and tourism, initiatives need to be continued that involve employers in developing advancement opportunities for both entry-level and incumbent workers. This will benefit not only the workers, but also the employers who will have a more stabilized workforce, enabling them to curtail “turnover” costs.
- Resources must be directed to young adults, who, in a depressed economy have been virtually excluded from the workforce.

PLANNING NARRATIVE

1. What will be the local area’s three primary initiatives for providing services to jobseekers for FY 2005?

The Boston’s workforce system’s three primary initiatives for providing services to job seekers are:

- Providing high quality and results-oriented services to unemployed job seekers through the career centers and through training opportunities;
- Refining capacity to serve special populations with extraordinary barriers to employment including the chronically homeless, disabled, non-English speakers, ex-offenders, and TANF recipients;
- Using labor market information to align outreach to employers with the skills of job seekers who are using career center services.

Serving the Unemployed

The Boston workforce system has experienced a sharp increase in the over-all volume in job seekers, and in particular those who are unemployed. In fiscal year 2003, the career centers served 14,429 job seekers, an 89% increase in job seeker volume since fiscal year 2000. 12,000 jobseekers identified themselves as unemployed. The proportion of unemployed customers rose from 73% in FY’98 to 88% in FY’02, and remained at that level in FY’03.

At the same time, the funding streams that support career center services have declined by one-third over the past seven years. We have been particularly concerned about the state’s new requirement that will result in 9,000 additional UI claimants using career center services with no additional funding. The Boston Workforce Board Chair expressed the Board’s deep concern about this issue to the Governor. Although the state’s recent allocation of roughly \$40,000 to Boston’s three Career Centers helps

ameliorate the burden of this mandate, it represents far from a full and fair compensation to Career Centers for their work with these customers.

Job seekers are staying longer and using more services – an increase from 62% to 89% of job seekers are using three or more services. We have experienced a 38% increase across the system in unemployed job seekers who have used three or more services. The average service utilization for all career center customers was 8.5 services per customer. We are proud of the rate of retention of the customer base, but continue to be concerned that without sufficient funding, the quality of the services that lead to retention and results will suffer from the sheer size of the demand.

The adult and dislocated funding streams have increased by 23% and 63%, respectively. Even with this increase, the pool of ITAs is still miniscule, relative to demand, with 411 projected ITAs to serve the entire city of Boston from WIA Title I funds and an additional 49 from Section 173 funds. For adults with limited basic skills or obsolete skills, training is critical to their eventual re-employment. We will therefore allocate more resources to training from the WIA dollars, but this will still only result in an increase of 75 Title I training slots (a total of 124 new slots, including Section 173 funds.)

Special Populations with Extraordinary Barriers to Employment

The Boston workforce system has focused on services to non-native English speakers for two primary reasons:

- We have experienced an increase in non-native English speakers who use the system as a result of plant closings in manufacturing assembly that have displaced workers with strong work habits, but very limited English;
- As reported in 2000 Census data and as detailed above in the Local Labor Market Analysis section, the only source of population growth in the Boston labor market is from foreign immigration. According to the Commonwealth's most recent Labor Market Information Profile for Boston (3rd. Quarter 2003), the city's share of foreign-born population "was essentially twice the share" of this population for the state. For that reason, we are increasing the number of ITA's available for use by low level Limited English Speakers to 57 in FY05. This represents a 21% increase in resources allocated for this purpose. Boston will continue to provide services to Limited English Speakers in FY05. In FY04, Boston awarded over 40% of its ITAs to customers who identified English as not their primary language.

The Boston system has pursued, with the Commonwealth, National Emergency Grants to pay for English for Speakers of Other Languages classroom capacity as well as occupational skills training. As the NEG grants begin to wind down, we have also allocated WIA training dollars to ESOL capacity. We will continue to do that through this planning cycle.

Our analysis of the local labor market has revealed a critical need for services to young adults so that they are better integrated into the local workforce. Given the substantial increase (63%) in our FY05 Title Id allocation, the Boston LWIB has decided to transfer \$256,098 of Id funds to Title Ia. These transferred funds will be used to target skills training to 18-24 year olds, particularly young men.

The Boston system has also started to work very closely with a coalition of housing, social service and job training agencies through a federal grant awarded to the Workforce Board to serve the chronically homeless. We have integrated the career centers into this program and allocated resources for them to develop and refine their capacity to serve chronically homeless individuals.

Through the Navigator program we are also working with the career centers to better serve the disabled. Each of the career centers has focused on a particular group of disabled, including the mentally ill and individuals with HIV.

Finally, we continue to provide services to ex-offenders through grant dollars primarily through a partnership between The Work Place and the Suffolk County House of Correction. Providing support around job training and placement to those individuals transitioning out of the HOC greatly mitigates the likelihood of recidivism. These ex-offenders need this assistance in order to navigate the challenges to employment that they face due to the CORI, as many of them become ineligible for certain jobs. In spite of these efforts, there remain issues with the CORI that discourage hiring an individual without good reason. For instance, the CORI remains very difficult to interpret for the average Human Resources department, as CORIs are often riddled with errors or multiple references to the same offence. This is an on-going problem that requires remedy by the Commonwealth in the order of mandating an update to the Criminal History Board's tracking systems.

Labor Market Data

Given the slow economic recovery and job loss from the recession, putting people back to work remains challenging throughout the state. This is particularly true for Boston, where the number of jobs between 3rd. quarter 2002 and 3rd. quarter 2003 fell by 20,181, or -3.6%. This decline was "much greater than the decline of -2.2% experienced by the entire commonwealth," according to the DUA/SWID/DWD regional profile for Boston.

The greatest job losses in Boston in numerical terms by sector between the 3rd quarter of 2002 and the 3rd quarter of 2003 were:

- Securities, Commodities and Investments (-4,464; -11.6%);
- Professional, Scientific & Technical Services (-3,610; -5.7%);
- Manufacturing (-1,965; -12.8%);
- Information, Production & Dissemination (-1,863; -10.1%);
- State Government (-1,407; -3.8%); and
- Transportation and Warehousing (-1,010; -5.4%).

These losses continue trends observable in the 2001-2002 year, when these sectors also suffered great job losses in the city. In 2001-02, however, the city's greatest number of job losses were in Professional, Scientific and Technical Services (-5,370), followed by State Government, excluding education (-4,040); Securities, Commodities & Investment (-2,916); Information, Production & Dissemination (-2,395); Transportation & Warehousing (-2,302) and Manufacturing (-1,759).

The Boston system is therefore working very hard to use labor market data to better match the job seekers who are using the career centers and training providers with employers who have some demand for individuals with those skill sets. This is primarily happening at the career centers and with training providers through assessing the background and skill sets of individuals who are using the Connecting Claimants program as well as other special populations and reaching out to employers who are a good fit with the background of those job seekers.

While job losses between the 3rd quarter 2002 and 3rd quarter 2003 were widely spread across industries in Boston, there were sectors where jobs were added:

- Hospitals added 1,431 jobs (+2.3%);
- Banks and credit institutions added 1,017 (+6.4%);
- Federal Government added 811 (+5.6%);
- Offices of doctors and walk-in clinics added 577 (+4.7%); and
- Business support added 409 (+1.2%), all in employment services (+3.7%).

The Workforce Board is working with the career centers to integrate them into sector initiatives focused on these areas of growth and specific high demand occupations – improving information and developing career decision-making tools that the career centers can use with career changers. Specific examples include a medical imaging website (radiologycareersma.org) and a workshop on nursing careers. Partnerships have also been developed with specific employers in critical industries to provide career coaching to entry level incumbent workers. In health care, for example, such collaborations exist with Mass General Hospital, Brigham & Women's Hospital and Sherril House, a long-term care facility, within the city. Outside the local area, such partnerships exist with the Lahey Clinic and the Cambridge Health Alliance.

The fiscal agent has focused primarily on the capacity of the training system to work with employers and to strengthen their programs through better partnerships with employers. On May 4th, JCS sponsored a capacity building workshop for community-based organizations to address their practice and capability to function in a very dynamic labor market.

2. What will be the local area's three primary initiatives for providing services to businesses for FY 2005?

The three primary initiatives in our work with employers are:

- Focusing on economic development opportunities;

- Launching industry consortia; and
- Aligning employer outreach by the career centers with the skill sets of unemployed job seekers who are using the career centers.

The Fiscal Agent (Mayor's Office of Jobs and Community Services) is working with the city's economic development agency to ensure that workforce planning is a critical and well-developed component of any new development in the Longwood Medical Area and Harvard's Allston campus. This work will result in concrete workforce plans for these geographic areas along with resources to provide training through linkage dollars.

The Workforce Board has started a conversation with health care employers to develop a pipeline strategy that addresses their skill needs over the next five years. This project will be launched with private dollars. We aspire to convene the industry around a set of objectives that impact private and public workforce systems that result in more youth and adults in Boston being well informed about career opportunities, well prepared for opportunities and having sufficient and high quality educational capacity to respond to employer demand. Over the course of FY2005, the Workforce Board intends to launch a similar initiative in financial services, where job growth occurred in banking and credit institutions over the 2002-03 period and where other aspects of the industry appear to be recovering, over the course of FY 2005.

The career centers are taking a number of steps to better serve employers:

- Collecting accurate and relevant skills and experience data for job seekers and matching job seekers more accurately with employers;
- Collecting voice of the customer feedback in collaboration with the Board through interviews and focus groups; and
- Educating employers who are working with special populations about the CORI and about accommodating disabilities.

3. *For FY 2005, what are your area's three highest priorities and resulting strategies for managing the WIA Title I youth program?*

Our three top priorities for managing the WIA Title I youth program are:

- Supporting alternative education capacity for youth who have dropped out of high school or are at-risk of dropping out of school;
- Continuing to focus on career exploration programs for at-risk youth, designed and delivered in partnership with industry and including summer jobs opportunities;
- Sustaining citywide capacity to serve Boston's most-at risk youth, those who are court-involved or DYS-committed, through the Youth Opportunity Center (which is funded with dollars limited to serving Empowerment Zone residents.)

Our services are targeted toward youth who meet the eligibility requirements of the Workforce Investment Act—low-income with additional barriers to employment. In particular, we are focusing our services on youth who have dropped out of school to ensure that these youth have the opportunity to attain a secondary diploma or GED. In addition, the career centers are serving young people who have met graduation requirements but have not yet passed the MCAS, which is a new at-risk population. We are working with the Class of 2003 and the Class of 2004.

The Board and Youth Council provide policy guidance to the youth system, approve spending and are focused on sustaining the capacity that has been supported through the WIA Title I grant and the Youth Opportunity (YO) Grant, which is entering its fifth and final year of grant support. The Youth Council's goal is to maximize services to at-risk youth by ensuring that the work of WIA vendors and YO is complementary and mutually supportive. The Fiscal Agent manages the performance of vendors, provides technical assistance, reports to the state on performance and spending, assists in staffing the Youth Council and is the grant recipient for the Youth Opportunity Center. The youth vendors provide career exploration programs in partnership with employers and summer jobs opportunities in the context of year-round career exploration. The career centers provide referrals and support in the areas of immediate job-search, long-term career coaching, MCAS remediation and other education and training programs to students who have not passed the MCAS.

4. How will the local area maximize the availability of appropriate training opportunities and resources for adults and dislocated workers for FY 2005?

We will allocate 65% of total WIA program dollars for adults and dislocated workers to training. This is an increase of \$195,245 for adults and \$619,109 for dislocated workers. At an average cost of \$4,200 per ITA, this represents an increase of 69 ITAs for adults and 36 ITAs for dislocated workers. In addition to these Title I dollars, section 173 funds will add an additional 49 ITAs for dislocated workers to those available through Id funds.

The local area releases training money in three time intervals in order to ensure that the entire allotment is not expended in the first few months of the year and customers have to wait for nearly a year for service. Customers who are interested in training attend group sessions at the career centers that explain the funding eligibility, the process for researching training opportunities and the process for obtaining an individual training account. After customers have attended one to one counseling, done research and selected a training vendor, the career centers submit the ITA request to the Fiscal Agent for approval. Approval is based on policies adopted by the Board that give priority to individuals those most in need of training services (e.g. those whose skills are obsolete in the marketplace; those who do not have a college degree.)

5. What specific continuous improvement strategies are planned by the local partners to strengthen the operation of the One-Stop Career Center(s) enhance the delivery

of services to the area's workforce investment system customers and/or assure attainment of planned goals for FY 2005?

Each year the Board, Fiscal Agent and career center operators engage in a number of activities to ensure continuous quality improvement and to enhance delivery of services. These activities include:

- Convening a Workforce Advisory Group that includes partners, career center operators, training providers, and advocates to develop and enhance systems and practices across the entire service delivery system;
- Convening a Best Practices Workgroup to develop practices specific to the flow of services that facilitate customers moving between providers with as much efficiency and effectiveness as possible;
- Continuing a Charter Review Process that includes customer focus groups, point of service interviews, reviewing a progress report from career center operators and a business plan from operators. This process includes the Board committee that oversees career centers and training services;
- Soliciting ongoing customer feedback through focus groups, interviews and surveys at the career center level and the Board level;
- Sustaining staff teams at each of the career centers that focus on particular processes that are critical to customer service and performance;
- Expanding fiscal agent-led work groups of training providers and career center staff focused on improving training for specific groups of customers (e.g. limited English speakers);
- Capacity building for system providers such as the conference organized on May 4th for community-based organizations.

At the staff and Board level we are also reviewing the performance goals. We are determining how particular training providers performed against goals, if there are occupational areas with particular challenges, and if there are systemic enhancements necessary to raise goals. We are focusing on both definitional and data entry issues associated with the credential goal for youth and adults. We are also looking at the wage gain goal for both youth and adults. While we are focusing on how to raise the performance, we are also intending to use realistic economic data to negotiate the performance level down. It has been increasing steadily under the Workforce Investment Act, despite first an economic downturn and then a jobless recovery. For youth, the economic downturn created the worst labor market for young adults since the Second World War. A surplus of labor for entry-level positions, which formerly served as youth labor market jobs, has depressed wages rather than increased them.

